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of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market *amīn* on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The *shaikh* of the «fraction» is responsible to the *qā'id* for the assessment and collection of this money, while the *qā'id* himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the *qāḍī*, also assisted by a *khalīfa*, administers the Sharī'ā, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Riffian *'urf* or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the *Aiṯ Arba'īn*, of the *imghāren* (sing. *amghār*), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al-Karīm. The powers of the *imghāren*, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (*dīyath*). These duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the *imghāren* of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called *aghrau* (p. *ighrāwen)*, the location of of which had previously been announced in the market by the *barrāḥ* or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught *in flagrante delicto*, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine *(ḥaqq)* of 5.000 pesetas to the *imghāren*, and blood money amounting to 6.000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing inmediately, and the council members, lea-

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631 the *liff* mechanism was an absolute necessity, for if it did not exist they would have been swallowed up long ago.

619 175 178 The entrance of the Pretender Bū Ḥimāra into the Rīf in 1908 and the short war with Spain in 1909 brought about a disruption of some of the traditional alliances and the constitution of new ones. This had a particularly important effect upon Aith Wuryāghil because, for the first time, the tribe became truly united. Reinforced by contingents from Aith ʿAmmarth, the warriors of Aith Wuryāghil banded together to resist the Rūghī and his *ḥarka* of Riffians from the east. They defeated him at the Battle of Imzūren and managed very effectively to check his progress in the Central Rīf.

619 We can thus see that tribal unity, dormant under normal conditions, is manifested when outside forces threaten to upset group equilibrium. The strongest allegiances are family and *thārfiqth* ties, but, in opposition to neighboring tribes, tribal allegiance is undivided. This has its reflection in tribal nomenclature: a man from Aith Bū ʿAyyāsh is called Bū ʿAyyāshī only in the tribal territory of Aith Wuryāghīl. Outside it he is called Wuryāghlī, and if he is outside the Rīf entirely he is usually just referred to as ar-Rīfī. This is how the Riffian really defines his tribe, by inferred comparison to and in opposition to other tribes. Writing about another tribal society, the Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard has defined a tribe as having: 1) a common and distinct name; 2) a common sentiment; 3) a common and distinct territory; 4) a moral obligation to unite in war, and 5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. It is precisely upon these criteria that the Aith Wuryāghil base their own concept of their tribe, as do all the other tribal groups as well. When menaced by Bū Ḥimāra, the Aith Wuryāghil were welded together by their common «we-feeling», and stopped him.

631 175 178 The ultimate result of Bū Ḥimāra's campaign in the Rīf was the rise to personal power of a number of petty *imghāren* who became absolute masters in their own bailiwicks. Such men were the Ḥājj Buqqaish in northern Giznāya, Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh of Aith ar-Ḥāsain in Aith ʿAmmarth, and, in Aith Wuryāghil itself, Muḥand Ḥaddū of Aith Bū ʿAyyāsh, Sī Ziyān of Ajdīr (Aith Yūsuf u ʿAlī), Ḥājj Ḥaddū of Aith ʿAlī, Sīdī ʿAmar of Imrābdhen, Muḥand n Sī ʿAmar of Aith

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Ḥadīfa, and 'Amar n Ṭāhir of Aith 'Abdallāh. This situation, with its concomitant *liff* alliances and wars between «fifths», prevailed until 1920, when Muḥammad n 'Abd al-Karīm made his first appearance upon the Riffian scene. The story of 'Abd al-Karīm, whose relatively obscure beginnings (his father was a *qāḍī* of Ajdīr and not the *qā'id* of Aith Wuryāghil, as is generally supposed) and sudden ascendancy first over his own tribe and then over the whole Rīf, the «Sultan» of which he then became, is too well known to students of Moroccan history to need recounting here. It is highly significant, however, in accounting, at least in part, for the Arabized type of governmental organization which exists among the tribes of the Rīf at the present day.

After 'Abd al-Karīm took the reins of the jihād against Spain, it was necessary for him to start to consolidate his authority by installing individuals whom he could trust at all points, from the highest to the lowest, from «fifth» to village, in the political structure of his own and of the other nuclear Riffian tribes. The inner circle of men who made up his cabinet was composed almost entirely of his relatives and friends from Ajdīr, which became his capital: his brother Muḥammad was his khalīfa and the Commander of the Regular Riffian Army; his paternal uncle 'Abd as-Salām was the Minister of Finance; his brother-in-law Muḥ Azarqan was the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Aḥmad Būdra, now the *qā'id* of the caidato of Nakūr, was the Minister of War. This move brought about considerable objection on the part of *imghāren* of some of the nearby tribes, who, by and large, considered 'Abd al-Karīm to be a parvenu. He had, in fact, for some time previously been working for the Spanish Government in Melilla.

The separatist and explosive temperament of the central Riffians themselves had long fostered the maintenance of a decentralized type of government in which impetuous and trigger-happy council members were responsible as much for starting blood feuds as for stopping them. Feuding and the mechanism which served to maintain it, the inbred rivalry engendered by the *liff* alliance system, had to be silenced if the Riffians were to put up a united front against Spain. Tribal wars could only be abolished if the structure of political authority in the tribes themselves became more centralized. The traditional Berber political organization does not easily lend itself to administration from above, whereas the Arab type does. 'Abd al-Karīm forced the

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newer system on all the tribes in his domain if they did not have it already. Although the *imghāren* loomed large in the early battles of Ighrīben and Anwāl in 1921, their status had become reduced to that of *quyād al-miya* or *quyād al-miyatain* (*qā'ids* of 100 or 200 men) by the time the *Jumhūrīya Rīfīya* or Riffian State was officially created in 1924. Almost all the men in key position in the new government were from Aith Wuryāghīl but *quyād*, *shiyūkh* and *muqaddamīn* took the place of the old *imghāren*; some of the latter fell in with the new regime and became prominent military commanders, while others, like those of the Ghumāra, jealous of 'Abd al-Karīm's success, staged a revolt against him in 1924 and were quietly poisoned or taken off to die in the jails of Ajdīr and Thamāsīnd. By the time 'Abd al-Karīm had conquered the Jibāla and captured his rival Raisūlī in 1925, he was master of all northern Morocco.

The natural supplement to this Arabization of the old Riffian political system was the substitution of the Sharī'a for the earlier customary law. Before 1920, custom, or *'urf*, had been king. If a case had arisen which had previously been unprovided for in Riffian law, the *imghāren* met to discuss it. When they agreed upon a solution, which was usually expressed in terms of payment of such and such a fine, the local *sharīf* or any man whose piety and good sense was known and respected by all was called in to give his testimony and sanction to the law in question, if it did not run counter to the Sharī'a. After the law was passed it was registered by the *ṭulbā* or students in the Friday mosque, and proclaimed in the market by the *barrāḥ* (18). These were the only steps necessary to integrate that law into the corpus of tribal custom. It was, in all but the most serious offenses, as we have seen, the «fifth» or the *farīqath* or even the village rather than tribe collectively which made the law and carried it out.

As has been implied above, 'Abd al-Karīm greatly weakened the power of the *imghāren* by centralizing the political authority in himself as head of a new Muslim state. This state was set up to conform to an orthodox Islamic pattern, and therefore the old customary law had to go. It went, and the result was that the Sharī'a was administered according to the Mālikī rite by a *qāḍī* in each «fifth» of the tribe. The weekly markets, in addition to their earlier functions as

(18) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 20.

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commercial and governmental centers, became legal temples as well, when separate tribunals were also set up for the *qāḍīs*, their *khalīfas* and their *'adūl*. In the old days there had been *qāḍīs* too, but they operated on a far more informal basis; they held court in their own houses, and, in actual practice, they acted more as arbiters of Berber custom than as administrators of Islamic Law, while, as Blanco remarks (19), the *'adūl* limited themselves to registering acts passed by the customary tribunal. The *imghāren* were the people who counted, and, until 'Abd al-Karīm's time *qā'ids*, *qāḍīs*, *muqaddams* and other functionaries with Arab titles were largely negative concepts in Aith Wuryāghil and in the other tribes of the Central Rīf. Today, of course, the situation has been reversed; there are no more *imghāren*, while customary law operates on the village level alone, and plays second fiddle to the Sharī'a even there.

A political reorientation toward an Arab governmental prototype thus became a mechanism for the preservation of Riffian freedom. But 'Abd al-Karīm's carefully constructed Jumhūrīya Rifīya was short-lived; it collapsed like a house of cards in 1926, two years after its foundation, when the tribal fastness of Aith Wuryāghil was itself invaded from the north by Spain and from the south by France, at which time the Wuryāghlī commanders in the Jibāla and on the Wargha River rushed back to defend their own homes. Nevertheless, in the framework of 'Abd al-Karīm's Riffian State the Spaniards found a ready-made administrative set-up which has continued, with only minor alterations, to the present day. When the Riffian leader first came to power, he installed *qā'ids* in the *rubū'* of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and in the «fifths» of Imrābdhen, Ait Ḥadīfa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh. Later on, when the French Army began to push up into the Central Rīf from the south, he added two more caidatos, Turīrth-Thimārzgha and Aith 'Arūs, to tighten up his control over the unruly mountaineers in the southeast part of the tribe. After the war the Spanish administration maintained this chain of command, setting up tribal «intervención» posts in Ajdīr, Thamāsīnd, Aith Ḥadīfa (Sūq ath-Thnain), Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd (Aith Ḥadīfa), Turīrth (Sūq al-Arba'), and Imnūdh (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh). In 1934, however, they subdivided the tribe into the three aforementioned

(19) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 26.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

175 caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the
178 one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād*
631 *as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective
443 *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain
438 of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables, fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as
443 clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (ba-
439 buches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk, who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segregated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud, which was once the dominant political institution of the society, were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until 1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration, while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Government in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic indication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apartness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

59 i) Summary:--The Rifian family is patriarchal and patrilineal, agnatic and polygamous (i.e. polygynous). It needs to be large because of possible loss through feuds or lack of hygiene. Although 562 428 legally a woman inherits one-half of what a man does (i.e. sons inherit twice as much as daughters), Rifians interpret Muslim inheritance laws in their own way, through customs such as "men's habus"[49], or the return to her house of a divorced woman, whether this be Koranically sanctioned or not. A woman does not inherit but is, in effect, inherited[50]; she bears children but cannot give them her name. She works, but cannot buy or sell; she exists to give pleasure to her husband, and is maltreated in return; but she is probably happier 000 than many of her European counterparts.....In my own opinion, the (Spanish) Protectorate has improved the status of women...and I think that if the Rifians consider men to be the superior of the sexes, this is so undoubtedly because men had to protect their womenfolk constantly, with rifle in hand. They saw in them a cause of weakness, but recognized them as being necessary to group survival (sic!). The Rifian family needed a headman with unquestioned authority, rigorous discipline without sentimentality, and an automatic ability 562 to heal breaches. Women were exempt from feuding and had at their disposition their own markets, reserved for them exclusively; in a sense, they formed a society which was semi-independent from that of [926] men. In battle, they incited men to combat. The shift today (1935) [178] toward Koranic norms is more apparent than real, and is taking place at the cost of parallel diminution, at the same time, of the sociopolitical importance of the group.[51]

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done [241] by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

792 794 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 178 794 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 621 794 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th, for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits [574] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 648 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

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15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

such urgent needs: it disorbitized the simple problems of fiscalization, strengthening and (re)orientation of Rifian popular institutions in order to create a cold and foreign bureaucracy and/or, at the very least, to improve the cities by putting up sumptuous buildings or repairing beautiful minarets.[17]

From a communal administrative organization and an essentially lay and effective position--like that of the ahabbas--a complicated religious problem and political weapon has been forged, i.e. the forms and modes have changed completely, to the detriment of the need which they tried to remedy. The administration has passed into the hands of the tulba; the inspection into those of the qudat (pl. of qadi); and the orders for payments into those of nothing less than a Ministry.[18]

In these dazzling reports it is easy to find science per se and the origin, finality and means of acquiring and utilizing these jma'ath properties in the different tribal areas of our (Spanish) zone in its "anarchical" (sic) existence.

I believe, then, that it is not in ways foreign to the Zone nor to those of the Arab authors of treatises where we must look for the light which will illuminate our path, but rather in what we know (empirically) through investigation of Rifian society itself, whose most durable facets are not very different from old Spanish

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17--The situation which Blanco hints at here, of local community resources in the Rif disappearing in order to add luster to urban mosque-cum-habus situations, is not one which has ever come up in our own experience.

18--Here Blanco complains again about what can only be labeled as "Creeping Arabism", after his earlier remarks about the pernicious influence of "the city" on the Rifian.

000 26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish administration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

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[114] 43--There are several errors here. First of all, the oath formula is not as Blanco gives it at all, but Billahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa, as discussed in note 50. Secondly, this is the recognized formula for oaths as given in the Shari'a, and as such, the Arab formula as well. Thirdly, although it is quite true that oaths are as important among Arabs as they are among Berbers, the Prophet Muhammad, in effect, "decollectivized" them among his Hijazi constituents much as 'Abd al-Krim did among Rifians--for the collective oath, far from being an exclusively "Berber" institution, was current in pre-Islamic Arabia. Blanco fails to distinguish between the singular character of the Shari'a oath and the plural character of the oaths of certain nominally Muslim societies whom the Shari'a, in some respects, has not quite reached.

44--This is in no way remarkable, for it is up to the plaintiff not only to demand that the accused take oath, but to stipulate when, where and with how many of his agnates.

45--Men certainly swear during the day, in fact on Fridays just before noon; but women did not swear during the 'Ripublik', although today they may do so. However, they must do so not at night but during the day, and at home, not in the mosque, although their oaths, like those of men, must be made on the mushaf.

[463] 46--A Jew accused of a crime against a Muslim or against a coreligionist was, indeed, forced to walk around the market with a packsaddle on his back, and to swear in this fashion, for packsaddle-making and silversmithing are the two traditional occupations of Jews in northern Morocco; but he took the oath itself in the synagogue.

47--There were no jails in the Rif until 'Abd al-Krim introduced them; he had three, at Ajdir, at Aith Qamra and at Thmasind, all in the Aith Waryaghar.

48--The Koranic sirat al-mustaqim, as given in the Surat al-Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Muslim Book.

[178] 49--This is true, but not quite for the reasons given. Women in the Aith Waryaghar have their own markets in order to keep them secluded from strange men and because it is shameful for them, and indeed forbidden (although this is beginning to break down today) for them to enter ordinary markets. The same goes for their "feasts": they visit saints' tombs and cemeteries on Sundays, as a rule, when they know no men will be there.

[165]

[114] 50--This is a contradiction in terms. If Berber law admits bloodvengeance (which is in any case excessively common in the Rif), why does it not admit talion?

[114] 51--Again, a contradiction in terms. If the death penalty is admitted, as Blanco says, why not capital punishment? In actual fact, although murder and feuding were the rule, the death penalty per se was rare: the only instance I can think of (outside of cases in which it was inflicted by 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War, and administered by his huffadh or personal bodyguard, who tied the offender backwards on a donkey, paraded him around the market three times while the crier made his crime public, and then stood him up against the wall and shot him) is that in which a man kills another in a market and is caught by the

771 [671] Paragraph h shows us the guarantee of keeping the principal religious services (funera's, etc.) and of keeping their sons educated in the faith. Today, under a different pretext, it is not uncommon 771 178 to observe someone pretending to reject with disdain such a traditional [793] obligation, for which he must not claim protection. The reason for this, rather than being rooted in irreligiosity, must be sought in possible antagonisms with the fqih.

623 671 Paragraph i conditions the obligation of fulfilling the agreements with certain legalities: that so many individuals be present at the meeting, and that they be useful and not prejudicial. They are, thus, the colegislators, working freely and without limitation, without dependence on anyone. It urges obedience.

671 [554] Paragraph j recommends obedience to the shaikh.

In summation: this beautiful qanun of a jma'th establishes who 671 623 are the iziddifen or council-members, and what their attributes are: to establish statutes regarding damages to crops, education and hospitality, but not to concern themselves with murder, woundings and homicide, an affair of the clan, nor with personal status, a religious 623 matter. In the internal struggle within the jma'th, if, indeed, the 554 iziddifen consent and delegate the execution of their decisions to a representative (the shaikh) to whom they accord circumstantial rewards, at the same time, jealous of their prerogatives, they free themselves very easily from authorizing him to contrive misdemeanors and penalties for these.

554 Thus the shaikh, in reality, is only the guardian of the community.

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
691 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

691 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

562 671 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 183 794 443 689 178 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's

562 443 178 183 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of

[184] [681] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the fundamentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

224 Another agreement which is also apt to be made previously, if the hunting is not in shirka, is the case of l-'adaw[184], which is indicated further on, in order to find out if measurements must be taken from above or below.

Regarding the personnel of the hunt, these are generally organized into two groups: the hunters, who go along the lower areas, tracking and flushing game; and the beaters, located in the dominating area and indicating paths taken by the animals to the hunters. Any hunter who gets an animal must change places with a beater, to equalize the possibilities and give the members of the latter group a chance.

The hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) walk in groups or in a line. In the first instance, the dogs go ahead of the groups and in a line, at the ends, but always with the larger group in order to cut the road better for the game and to preserve it, insofar as possible, from accidents. The disposition which the Aith Hadhifa adopt while 224 628 hunting in shirka, for example, is in two bands: the local communities of Thizimmurin, Ihadduthen, Iharumen, Mishkur and Bihban from one, and those of Aith 'Amar u S'aid[185], Imrabdhen and Bashkra, the other[186]; and the meeting between both bands takes place in Aghir Inibdar, below Thizimmurin.

D) Arms:

224 411 [178] In the days of the Republik, Rifians hunted with firearms, ferrets, sticks, traps and net. Today they do not use firearms[187]; but practice and necessity have converted them into experts in the use of throwing sticks (r-mitrag). Each man carries two or three

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114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

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[114]
[178] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

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614 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.A1

A1 [No appendix is given--Analyst]

121 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise
105 from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation
571
602 of these activities and the social relationships that they help
433 establish.

The central problem I have set for myself is to describe
121 and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in
128 the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the condi-
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433 tions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that
571 the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was soci-
602 ally, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political condi-
[178] tions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization.
[613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga
[596] traditional social obligations are still extant.
[602] The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

1. [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is 621 622 appointed by the national government. While the appointment 657 is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem 622 may and usually does have administrative responsibility over 631 more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example 619 we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

623 Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to [554] have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, 623 before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political 178 power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed [657] by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated 178 and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of 621 the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with 595 multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The 369 urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the 593 man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

584 The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society 571 was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- 602 ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is 178 guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy 571 overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

178 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was
611 that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quar-
602 rels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situ-
578 ations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matri-
lineal lines.

121 I think that the principle of unilineality is not as
611 important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindus-
[571] trial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated
to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this
makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the
structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its
parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform
to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many non-
584 industrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must
decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce
bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and
set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either
type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of
an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on
the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the
couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter
should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely con-
sulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic
as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely
chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

585 The father of the groom provides meals and tea for all
574 the guests at his home as well as at the house of the bride.
262 The meal for the guests in even the humblest of homes consists of a course of cous-cous and a meat tajin. In most ceremonies there is also a poultry course. Enormous quantities of bread and tea are also served. The most accepted casual factor for
[178] reducing the days of the wedding ceremony from seven as they were before Abdel Krim to two or three days as they are today was that the expenses of providing hospitality over such an extended period of time was ruinous to all but the most prosperous families.

585 Guests are likewise expected to incur various expenses.
574 At this moment we need only note the recurrent support of a
571 public ceremony which is expected throughout Berber society. All mature guests are expected to provide a quantity of barley, loaves of freshly baked bread, fresh fruit and vegetables, or a monetary equivalent. This tends to discourage, among the poor fellah, the presence of nonrelatives, because it represents an outlay which is not part of their residual social obligations. In addition, such attendance by a nonrelative imposes future obligations which, in only rare circumstances, they are willing to accept. By attending the wedding and taking part in the joining in matrimony of the couple, one gratuitously assumes the duty of attending the naming ceremonies for the infants of this union. Such acceptance of future responsibility is not normally accepted unless there is social advantage thereby.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the [533] groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the professional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 574 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the compensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the passing of this ceremony she is no longer tislith (bride) but timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household
585 activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony
431 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's father's house. There countergifts, in the form of a cow or some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may
[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[178] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the seventh day ceremony.

792 794 575 brotherhood, Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) broke off from the organization to form his own association which is now the largest in the Rif. According to informant estimate, this brotherhood holds about 50% of those Berbers in the Rif who belong to brotherhoods. Its annual meeting which I attended in 1965 consisted of several thousand brothers from all parts of the Rif and from neighboring Algeria where the mother lodge is located.

792 794 575 178 The importance of these fraternal orders declined to a certain extent during the struggle for Moroccan independence because of their anti-nationalistic behavior. When they are criticized in the Rif it is not on theological grounds but [662] political. The brotherhoods have been accused of accepting bribes in order to influence their membership on how to vote in local elections and to act as spies for the government. Their cogency has also been reduced by the increase in secular as opposed to Koranic education. Nonetheless, they have a powerful residual following, as attested by the vehemency with which they are attacked.

792 794 575 [124] The fraternity supports itself on the annual contributions in kind extracted as membership fees from its adherents as well as the more or less regular visits to the key shrines and lodges where, again, donations are expected. The size of this contribution is most difficult to estimate, and my inquiries of lodge officials met with only our mutual exasperation. The amount seems to vary with the avarice of the local lodge, where 10% of

annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who [212] has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. [794] He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.

Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation, while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men, in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the poor.

Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105 The economic system of the bled-as-siba reflected this preoccupa-
631 tion, each sub-unit incorporating both its economic activity and its social activity in a manner so that the two could rarely be separated.

105 The Rif, however, is no longer bled-as-siba. Since 1926
648 it has been integrated into political systems with centralized
[631] authority. Yet most of the elements of the traditional economic
[198] system continue to persist. Why? I think that along with geographical isolation a poverty in natural resources has helped to maintain the Rif free from outside interferences. Sultans were hesitant to send a sizable army into the Rif because it was questionable whether the army could live off the land. Spain was interested less for economic reasons than as an effort to recoup some of the colonial glory she had but recently lost in a war with the United States. Once Spain established her protectorate she only selectively exploited the country in such items as minerals and lumber. On the whole this had no effect on the indigenous economic system. Nor has the Rif fared better since independence. "By comparison, the inhabitants of the old Spanish zone, largely Riffian, are poor relations when contrasted with their compatriots to the south. Extremely limited agricultural possibilities and poor communication in rugged terrain combine to produce this situation" (Steward 1964:170). The Moroccan government has found that the incorporation of the north constitutes a drain on national resources, contributing little to the national economy while at the same time extracting

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman.[1] Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[2] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[3] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[1] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 526. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a, d*). The leather slippers (*bŭlga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

Vegetation on Sacred Sites

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe.[a]

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world.[b] The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves.[c] Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (e.g., *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, *a* and *b*).

Figure 25, *a*, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, *b*, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, *a*). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

[a] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325–326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[b] Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

[c] J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatría*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but *where* it grows.

A, [See p. 133--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

105 Many of the basic distinctions in the cultural geography of northern Morocco can be attributed to two main factors: the sense of collective identity that is felt by members of tribal confederations and some individual tribes, and the extent to which such groups have been exposed to alien influence. For example, Berber speech in the Rif has survived because it is an expression of fraternal unity, and because the traditions of political independence and economic self-sufficiency have enforced the isolation of the area from the main centers of Arab influence. [186] Moreover, the preservation of Berber speech and many other aspects of Berber culture have been encouraged by the contempt of the Rifians for their Arab or [176] Arabized neighbors. In the Rif, as elsewhere, an innovation may be accepted [178] or rejected, not on the basis of its form and content or its compatibility with established custom but because of its affiliation with desirable or undesirable groups.

Consciously or unconsciously, tribal groups have selected material traits, such as distinctive clothing, settlement patterns, and types of houses, to serve as symbols of their identity. It is not by accident that the western limits of dispersed settlement and flat-roofed houses nearly coincide with the western limits of Rifian speech. Nor is it surprising that symbols of tribal identity are more conspicuous in the highlands than on the Atlantic littoral. This contrast is explained, or at least clarified, when the distribution of culture traits is compared with the physical division between refuge areas and passageways.

Other notable examples of refuge areas are found on the Ghmaran coast, especially the territory of the Bani Bu Zra, and in the less accessible parts of Sanhaja as-Srair. The most exposed areas of northern Morocco are the Fahs territory, south of Tangier, and the basin of Wad Lukkus. These territories are cultural melting pots in which heterogenous elements have been blended by the pervasive force of Islam. Moreover, these territories, unlike the rest of the northern zone, have been affected by social and economic influences emanating from towns.

For northern Morocco as a whole, subsistence farming is clearly the predominant mode of livelihood. With the exception of hemp, grown in the Sanhajan highlands, there is no large cash crop. At most markets barter is more important than cash transactions, and the essential imports from the urban centers are limited to sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene. Yet the rural economy of northern Morocco should not be described as one of simple subsistence with little or no specialization or exchange. In northern Morocco, as in many other areas of the non-Western world, self-sufficiency at the scale of the canton or tribe reflects the specialized or semispecialized production of individual hamlets and farmsteads.

The basic differences within the agricultural framework depend upon the opportunities for cultivation of crops to supplement the staple cereals. Maximum opportunity is found in the Sanhajan highlands, where perennial streams provide water for irrigation of vegetables and legumes. There are few perennial streams in the western lowlands, but the combination of gentle slopes, fertile soils, and dependable rains minimizes the risks of dry farming and makes possible a surplus yield of grain to be drawn upon during unproductive months. In the Rif, horticulture provides a safeguard against failure of the cereal crops, and when bread is scarce, raisins, nuts, and figs are staple foods. The number of orchards decreases

/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
[619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
•178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel